A VINDICATION OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE Late Parliament, *A.D.* 1689.

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An. Dom. 1689.

Being the First in the Reign of Their present Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*.

LONDON,

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A VINDICATION OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE Late Parliament OF ENGLAND.

I. THE Proceedings of the late Parliament were ſo fair, ſo prudent, ſo neceſſary, and ſo advantageous to the Nation, to the Proteſtant Intereſt in general, and in particular to the Church of *England*, that all true Engliſh-Men muſt needs acknowledge they owe to the then Repreſentatives of the Nation, their Privileges, their Liberties, their Lives, their Religion, their preſent and future ſecurity from Popery, Slavery, and Arbitrary Power, had they done nothing elſe but enacted the

Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and ſettling the Succeſſion of the Crown.

So that it is now, and perhaps but now, that we may call our ſelves the Free-born Subjects of *England*, as being fully ſecured, for ever, by this Act, from the heavy and inſupportable Yoke of Arbitrary Power, the neceſſary Conſequence of a Power of diſpenſing, or ſuſpending of Laws, without conſent of Parliament.

II. Their ſettling the Crown upon the Head of a Proteſtant Prince, who is the very Centre, the chief Prop and Pillar of the Proteſtant Religion, ſecures all Proteſtants not only at home, but likewiſe in all other parts of *Europe*; inſomuch that it is upon him only we ground all our Hopes of ſeeing, e'er long, *Lewis* XIV. called to a juſt account for all his Unjuſt, Arbitrary, and Tyrannical Proceedings againſt his own Subjects, as likewiſe againſt his injured and weaker Neighbours.

III. Their not acting in the leaſt, after the example of their Neighbours, againſt Prelacy, but rather favouring it by ſuch Acts as fit only Epiſcopal Men for publick Imployments, gives all reaſonable ſatisfaction to the Church of *England*, without any juſt offence, either given to the Diſſenters, who, under the preſent Government, enjoy, to their own Hearts deſire, their long wiſh'd for Liberty, without being liable to the laſh of the Law, for ſerving God after their own way: Notwithſtanding all this, ſo hard, yea, ſo impoſſible a thing it is to content all Parties; not a few vent their Malice in every Corner, yea, and in Print too, againſt the King and Parliament, though all their Proceedings hitherto tend ſo directly to the general good of the Nation, that we muſt either want common Underſtanding not to ſee it, or prove moſt ungrateful to our Repreſentatives not to acknowledge ſuch an evident truth as this is with our moſt thankful returns. To proceed with ſome method in this deſigned Vindication of the late Parliament, I ſhall, firſt, take a ſum-

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mary view of the late condition of our Affairs; and, ſecondly, give a full anſwer to whatever is maliciouſly ſuggeſted to the unthinking Multitude; yea, and in Printed Pamphlets likewiſe, to the ſeducing of the ſimple, and to the great encouragement of the profeſſed Enemies and Diſturbers of the preſent Government.

IV. If we conſider in what condition we were in, the two laſt years of King *James*'s Reign, we may remember we were given up for loſt by all our Friends in *Europe*, and did think ſo to our ſelves, it being then impoſſible for us to imagine from whence our relief ſhould come. A Power of diſpenſing with, and ſuſpending of Laws, and the execution of Laws, was already ſo fully eſtabliſhed, that the very humble petitioning to be excuſed from concurring to the ſaid aſſum'd Power, was Crime enough for the Commitment and Proſecution of divers worthy Prelates: The Court of Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes was a ſort of Inquiſition; or, at leaſt, a certain Fore-runner of the new way of converting People, by the irreſiſtible Eloquence of arm'd Dragoons: The levying Money for, and to the uſe of the Crown, by pretence of Prerogative, for other time, and in other manner, than the ſame was granted by the Parliament, was nothing elſe but a preparatory contrivance, to try afterwards a French experiment upon the Gold and Silver of the Nation: The horrible and illegal Puniſhments inflicted by corrupt Judges, exceſſive Fines and Bails, and ſeveral Grants and Promiſes made of Fines and Forfeitures, before any Conviction or Judgment againſt the Perſons, upon whom the ſame were to be levyed; and all the other Injuſtices, Grievances, and Irregularities of thoſe days, were but previous diſpoſitions to the new modelling of the Nation into a Frame, the more eaſily to be wrought upon by the *Romiſh* Prieſts, in caſe their weak Arguments could not prevail, as 'twas impoſſible they ſhould have prevailed, in a Nation ſo well provided and ſtock'd with ſolid Learning, both againſt Error, and Superſtition.

V. If this was our condition within our ſelves, it was made much worſe by the diſmal proſpect of the threatning French Greatneſs: The French King's known and cloſe Engagements with the late King *James*, the ſudden Growth of his Power, both by Sea and by Land, ſeem'd to threaten all his Neighbours with the utmoſt Deſolation, unleſs, by laying aſide the uſe of their Reaſon, they acted all like Fools, and turned Papiſts; which could not ſecure them neither from Oppreſſion and Slavery, ſince none are greater Slaves, nor ſo unmercifully oppreſſed as the French Papiſts themſelves: This is but a ſhort and ſummary view of the publick Calamities and Miſeries we lay under, till our Deliverer came over to free us from them, by the beſt Methods our Repreſentatives could fall upon for our ſafety in times to come; which are certainly ſuch as give full ſatisfaction to all good Men, and Loyal Subjects, that are not ſtill in love with Popery and Slavery, both of Body and Soul, which always attends it: So that the preſent poſture of our Affairs is now ſuch, that we have all reaſon to hope, if we can but agree among our ſelves, this Kingdom may become again, as 'twas of old, the terrour of *France*. *Europe* never bid fairer for a level of the French Monarch, he being now ſurrounded on all ſides, by thoſe he has made his irreconcileable Enemies, by his daily breaches of Oaths, by his Oppreſſions and Invaſions, contrary to all Treaties made with him, either of Peace or Truce.

VI. We cannot then but highly commend the prudent meaſures of the laſt Parliament, for ſupplying his Majeſty with neceſſaries, towards a vigorous proſecution of this preſent War the Nation ſo long wiſh'd for in vain, the French Intereſt prevailing too much formerly at the Court of *England*, againſt the Intereſt of the Proteſtant Religion, and of the Engliſh Nation. Such then as complain of ſome preſent hardſhips, always unavoidable in time of War, and would fain work the People into a belief of a happier condition under

der another change of Affairs, seem not to understand their true Interest; for must we expose our selves to a certain ruine, to the loss of our Lives and Liberties, by not contributing liberally to the maintenance of a War, so necessary in this present juncture of our Affairs? Our *All* lies now at the Stake, our Lives, Properties, Liberties, and Religion: Should any *Tax*, or *Impost*, put us out of Humor, and cause us to wish for a change, as if we could pretend to any security, in case things were settled again upon the same Foundation they were on before?

VII. Are we not sufficiently acquainted, from daily experience, with this undoubted Popish Princip'e, *That a Papist is obliged to break his Oath taken not to extirpate Heresie, as soon as he is in a capacity to root out what he thinks Heresie, under a no less pain than that of Eternal Damnation?* King *Lewis* has satisfied all the World, by what he has lately done, that this is no Calumny; and King *James* cleared all our Doubts upon the matter, by what he likewise really did, and endeavoured to doe.

VIII. But a late Seditious Pamphlet tells us a Tragical Story of the decay and loss of Trade by this present War, That *the* Dutch *run away with our Trade at Sea, and the* French *with our Ships*: This is but a meer groundless flourish, that can only make impression upon some weak Minds, that neither understand their own Interest, nor that of the Nation they are in; 'tis true, we have lost several Ships, and that is unavoidable in the beginning of any War as well as in this, till the Merchant-Men bound homewards are informed of a War declared, which must needs require some time; but of late we have lost none, or we have taken the equivalent of our losses from the Enemy; and for the time to come, his Majesty has taken such measures, that it shall not be hereafter in the Power of the French to put a stop to our Trade, either into *Holland*, *Spain*, the East Countries, or *West* and *East Indies*; and as for the Dutch, 'tis a groundless suppo-

sition,

ſition, though too often in the Mouths of ſuch as are diſaffected to the Government, *That they run away with our Trade*, ſince the contrary may be eaſily made out to an unprejudiced Mind; Do we not Trade ſtill, as well as the Dutch, both to the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*, to *Sweedland*, *Denmark*, *Hamburgh*, and *Poland*? Do the French allow them free paſſage more than to us? And if they ſend abroad greater Merchant Fleets, and perhaps under greater Convoys than we do; by ſo doing they rather lend us a helping Hand, than wrong us; becauſe in the mean time they clear the Seas of French Privateers, which makes of courſe our Voyages the ſafer, and great Convoys not ſo abſolutely neceſſary, as they would be at another time, when we were not in Union with the Dutch: So that ſuch reflexions are either but idle and frothy Diſcourſes, or made upon a deſign to raiſe Sedition, and ſtir up the Nation againſt the preſent Government: But grant that what this diſaffected Pamphleteer ſays were really true, as it is not, in the full meaſure he would have it, let us balance our preſent decay of Trade on the one ſide, and on the other hand the conſequences of not proſecuting vigorouſly the preſent War againſt the French, and we ſhall eaſily diſcover either the groſs miſtakes of ſuch as diſcourſe after this rate, or their real deſigns to ruine their Country, by preferring a ſmall inconveniency of not ſo full a Trade, to the very being of Liberty and Religion, and perhaps of the Nation it ſelf.

IX. For let us allow to this pretended Politician, the deſired change of Government he ſeems to aim at, this can never happen but in one of theſe three ways, either by the returning of King *James* again, or by the invaſion of King *Lewis*, or by a Civil War at home; which laſt thing, if ſome do really intend, they deſign nothing elſe but their own ruine, and that of their Country; and if they would have King *James* to come again, muſt he come in by Conqueſt? If he ever recovers *England* by Conqueſt, where are then our

our Properties, our Liberties, our Religion, our Laws, and whatever Privileges we now glory in, and that no other Subjects in the World can boaſt of? Would they have King *James* come in again by agreement? Beſides, the apparent impoſſibility of the thing, upon ſeveral and obvious accounts, I would willingly be ſatisfied, as I was ſaying before, how we can truſt him after ſo many violations of his Word, and ſince by the Principles of his Religion, he is obliged in Conſcience not to keep either Word given, or Oath taken, to protect and promote Hereſie, if he is once in Power to deſtroy it. If our Pamphleteer pretends to a Change of Government, by a French Invaſion, he muſt either be a profeſſed French Papiſt, or a very bad Engliſh Proteſtant, and quite of a different temper from all true Engliſh-Men, who have ſtood in oppoſition from all times to the French Intereſt, not only upon the account of the Proteſtant Religion, but likewiſe becauſe of their Civil Rights, which both they muſt of neceſſity part with, if the French ever got footing in *England*.

X. I confeſs, as things now ſtand, there is little or no danger at all of their attempting the Conqueſt of their ancient Conquerors, the *Engliſh*, becauſe of our Union at preſent, againſt *France* with ſo many powerful Allies; but yet if we take not hold of this opportunity by the Fore-lock, I know not what may happen in another Scene of Affairs, in caſe we were left alone to deal with the French, who by the connivance of the laſt two Reigns, are become ſo formidable at Sea, as to be a match either for Us, or the Hollanders. Now can any Man of reach blame the King for recommending ſo often to the late Parliament, the abſolute neceſſity of proſecuting vigorouſly the preſent War, in this preſent juncture of our Affairs; or find fault with the Repreſentatives of the Nation, for ſupplying him with the neceſſary Sinews of War; eſpecially, ſince he has offered to give them an Account of the diſpoſal of their Money for the very uſes,

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they deſigned it for: Neither can we be jealous of his Majeſty's Deſign in calling in Foreigners, in order to the ſpeedy reduction of *Ireland*; becauſe 'tis a matter of great Conſequence, for the Humbling of *France* both by Sea and by Land; together with our Allies, to put an end to our Domeſtick Broils, with all poſſible expedition; and this cannot be better performed, than by joining to our own Forces a Body of veterane and experienced Forreigners.

XI. But this looks, ſay ſome of our Male-Contents, as if his Majeſty miſtruſted his own Subjects, which if narrowly looked into, is a meer groundleſs aſperſion, ſince all his Majeſty's Forces both by Sea and by Land, an inconſiderable number of Foreigners excepted, are Natives, either of *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*: Does the French King miſtruſt his own Subjects, becauſe of his joyning with them ſeveral Foreign Nations, as *Switzers*, *Italians*, and both *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, and *Iriſh*, upon occaſion; the true reaſon of this common Practice is, that an Army conſiſting of Forces of different Nations, is upon this account more formidable than it would be if it conſiſted of meer Natives, that both thoſe Foreigners, and the Natives, fighting through emulation, leave no ſtone unturned to out-doe one another; the obſerving of this Maxim made the Dutch a free People, to the pitch we ſee them in at this day: The French likewiſe owe in part their preſent Greatneſs to the valour of the *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, and *Switzers*, who fighting not ſo much out of any particular kindneſs to them, as for their own reputation, were wont to overthrow whatever ſtood in their way, to the great advantange of the French, under whoſe pay they then were; undoubtedly this is his Majeſty's deſign in ſending for Foreigners, that the Natives may act their parts the better by Emulation and Example: So that though it be allowed to be true, as certainly it is, that King *William* has a ſufficient number of his own Subjects to reduce *Ireland*, and thoſe of an unqueſtionable Valour too; yet it is prudence in him to call

call in Strangers, to give Life and a new Vigour to his Armies upon occasion.

XII. But in our case there is another reason not to be dissembled, why the present Government thinks it necessary to make use of Foreigners for our assistence, and it is this: That though the Nation be full of stout and valiant Men, that might alone doe the business, yet 'tis to be considered, in this unparallel'd juncture of our Affairs, that if we divide the three Kingdoms into six parts, two I doubt, at least, would prove, either *JACOBITES*, or disaffected to the present Government: Now what if the King raised an Army, consisting in part of *Jacobites*, or of Persons disaffected to the present Government, since 'tis hard to know the bottom of Men's Hearts, what if, I say, this hapned, might not such an accident as this, not altogether impossible, endanger the whole Nation, and throw it into the greatest confusion imaginable, either by setting up King *James* again, and the French Interest, or by converting this ancient and moderate Monarchy into a Common-Wealth, which would prove perhaps no less the ruine of the Nation, than an Absolute, Arbitrary, and Tyrannical Government. Is it not then more advisable now, and I am sure those that love their Religion, and the present Interest will be of my Opinion, to make use in this juncture of Foreigners, together with the Natives, to keep a little in awe the hidden *Jacobites*, and such as are disaffected to this Government, lest they undertake to ruine the Nation, upon the first fair opportunity to execute their treasonable and pernicious designs? This complaint of our Male-Contents had been more plausible in another juncture of time, than in such an one as this is, which once successfully over, and a Peace concluded, we are secured by our Laws from our own standing Forces, as well as from Foreigners. In the mean time we ought to look to our selves, as all Wise Men ought to do, and secure

our selves against pressing and present dangers the best way we can, without minding remoter accidents, and meerly possible events, that are not yet so much as in prospect; for upon meer Apprehensions, and groundless Fears, of what is never like to happen, to put a veil before our Eyes, hindring us to see the brink of the Precipice we now stand upon, is an unaccountable piece of Folly, or rather Madness, that no Man having his Wits about him can be guilty of; yet we must needs prove guilty of such a piece of Madness and Folly, if through a groundless fear of what can never happen in *England*, as things are now ordered, we should scruple to secure our selves by the help of Foreigners from the *Jacobites*, and the Malecontents who might perhaps get the upper hand, if not prevented in time by some good Method as this is now thought to be.

XIII. No farther incroachments upon our Rights and Privileges are to be feared in time to come, since the bad success of all our late Kings, is an example to all their Successors, wherein they may read their Destiny, if they understood so little their own Interest, as to act arbitrarily, as some of their Predecessors did, to the great disturbance indeed of their Subjects for a time, but at last to the utter ruine of Themselves, and their Adherents: His present Majesty is so fully perswaded of this Truth, *viz.* That the Sovereign's Greatness, in *England*, depends chiefly and only upon the love of his Subjects; that taking his Interest and the People's to be the same, as really it is, and always ought to be, to shun the dangerous Factions of Court and Country, he prudently complyed with their just desires, to whatever they thought fit to be done for the common good. I am then of Opinion, that *England* was never so happy as 'tis now, [laying aside the consideration of the present War so absolutely necessary,] because of the good understanding of the King and his Subjects, though our Seditious Pamphleteer leaves

leaves no Stone unturned to divide them; whoever he is, he must needs be a Man of a strangely disaffected Spirit, that he blames the late Parliament for allowing his Majesty so much Power as makes him a true King, and not the bare representation and shadow of One, as he would really be, if according to the project suggested by this Man, he should not be allowed so much as the liberty of choosing his own Councellors, nor of Proroguing Parliaments at all, upon occasion, &c.

XIV. The suspending and stopping, or *stalling*, as he calls it, of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, puts him in a great fit against the late Parliament, as having by this suspension wronged the liberty of the Subjects; yet if, before we give our last judgment upon the matter, we consider as we should do all things impartially, not suffering our selves to be byassed by a wrong apprehension of things, we shall easily discover, that the suspending of that Act, at that time, was the only way to secure our Properties and Liberties, by preventing a Civil and Domestick War, which in all likelyhood had ensued, had it not been prevented in time, by impowering the King to secure such as, because of their Quality, or their former Engagements with the Papists, and with the then Male-contents, were likeliest to prove Ring-leaders to new disturbances, in a time when things were not as yet settled upon so sure a Foundation as they now are.

XV. But nothing more insufferable in this Seditious Pamphleteer, than his affected jealousie of his Majesty's being a sincere Protestant, as if the Nation should be the more afraid of him upon this Account, because forsooth the Parliament is likelier to give him more Power, than if he were a Papist, or of a contrary Religion to that of the Nation. This is such an unaccountable Reflexion, that I cannot but wonder to hear it from the Mouth of any Man, that either pretends to com-

mon sense, or reason; for, First, At this rate of arguing, it would be better for us to have a King we hated, and feared, than one of the same Religion we loved, and were sure of; which is such an absurd inference, that none but a Madman can propose it as reasonable. Secondly, Grant what he says to be true, as it is not, our Religion however is secure, and perhaps the securer, the greater Power we trust him with. But, Thirdly, As our late Representatives gave so much Power to our Glorious Deliverer, as made him a King, and a powerful one too; so on the other hand, they have had so much regard to the safety of the People, as to secure their Privileges and Civil Rights from any future incroachments of the Prerogative, as may easily be made out by the late Act, declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and settling the Succession of the Crown.

XVI. The Popish Subjects are generally so oppressed by their absolute Sovereigns, that through an excessive flattery, and fear of blows, they seem to Worship their Kings as Gods, allowing them an illimited Power, which no Man of Sense can admit of in a Being of a limited Nature, or at least allowing them to be the Fathers, and absolute Masters of their People, though the Kings generally came out of the Peoples Loins, as being at first made by them, and not the People out of theirs; and though Subjects ought not to lord it over their Sovereigns, as Masters, yet they ought not to be their Slaves neither, but are to enjoy under their Government such Privileges and Liberties, as may settle them in an unalterable State of Happiness, that the Princes themselves may not destroy at pleasure; for as nothing is more rational than that we should submit in all things to the absolute Power of God over us, so nothing is more unreasonable than a blind obedience to earthly Princes, as if they were as infallible as God himself; whereas their very Kingship proves sometimes an occasion to make them the more liable both to Errour, as being often

often mis-informed of things, and to Sin likewise, if they are not truly Religious, as King *William* undoubtedly is, because of their uncontrolled Power of doing what they please.

XVII. For these and other reasons of that kind, though *William* the Third, whom God long preserve, be the mildest and moderatest Prince that ever sate upon the *English* Throne, yet our Representatives, to secure us from the encroachments of this, and all succeeding Ages, have thought fit to declare and establish the Rights of the People, so fully, and upon such a sure Foundation, that *England* now is the securest, and the happiest Nation in the World, if the Natives can be but sensible of their own Happiness. *Fælices nimium bona si sua nôrint Agricolas!*

XVIII. Four things especially declared in this Act, secure us from Oppression, Tyranny, and Arbitrary Power. First, The rejecting of either a dispensing, or suspending Power. Secondly, All grants of Money for, or to the use of the Crown reserved to the Parliament for the time in being. Thirdly, The disbanding of standing Armies in time of Peace, unless the Parliament give consent to the keeping them on foot. Fourthly, The settling of the Succession of the Crown. I need mention nothing else contained in this Act, to shew that we are the only Subjects in the World, that can boast of Freedom and Liberty, in case our Princes cannot dispense with our Laws, as they cannot without our leave, since they are not to give us, for the only reason of their Kingly Actions, *Tel est nostre bon plaisir*, *Their Good Will and Pleasure*, as the French King does; for however the French Modes have taken with us of late, we could never yet fall in love with so absolute a Mode as this. As our Kings must act by Law, and not absolutely, though real Kings, they do nothing of moment but by and with the advice of their Parliaments: Our Happiness then consists in this, that

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our Princes are tied up to the Law, as well as we, and upon an especial account obliged to keep it up in its full force; because if they destroyed the Law, they destroy at the same time themselves, by overthrowing the very Foundation of their Kingly Grandeur, and Regal Power: So that our Government not being Arbitrary, but Legal, not Absolute, but Political, our Princes can never become Arbitrary, Absolute, or Tyrants, without forfeiting at the same time their Royal Character, by the breach of the essential Conditions of their Regal Power, which are to act according to the ancient Customs, and standing Laws of the Nation. If we are happy upon this account, that our Kings can neither suspend, nor destroy our Laws, we are no less to be envyed that our Purses are secured from the encroachments of an aspiring Covetousness, by that part of this Act, which tells us, *that levying Money for, or to the use of the Crown, by pretence of Prerogative, without grant of Parliament, for longer time, or in other manner, than the same is, or shall be granted, is illegal.*

XIX. We may easily think our Security greater than that of any other Nation in *Europe*, if we reflect but a moment upon this important Article, that we are never obliged to open our Purses, but by the order and consent of our Representatives, whom we have trusted with the care of our Interest, which being equally theirs at the same time, we have no reason to fear that they ever lay any Taxes upon us, but when 'tis absolutely necessary for the preservation of our Lives, Liberties, and Religion, as all seeing Men confess it to be, in the present juncture of our Affairs, to prevent the return of Popery, and Arbitrary Power. This Privilege has made our Government to be envyed by all the Neighbour Nations, and the happiest that can be imagined; for there being no surer way for a Prince to become Absolute, Arbitrary, and a Tyrant, than to impoverish his Subjects, to that degree

degree of Want and Misery, as may force them for subsistence to comply with all his desires, whether just, or unjust, he is disabled by this Act from doing them any mischief that way, I mean by squeezing the Blood out of their Veins, that is the Money out of their Pockets, for any design he might have of ruling over them as meer Slaves: To the want of Privilege, we may chiefly ascribe the Slavery the French Nation groans under, their Prince disposing absolutely of their Estates at pleasure, and laying such heavy Taxes upon his Subjects, as leave them not Money enough to buy Leather Shoes, instead of which they are forced to make use of Wooden ones; so that the French are not so much in the wrong, as one would think, when in their flattering Panegyricks they style him sometimes their God, since they in a manner are his Creatures, whom he creates, or destroys, by the least Word of his Mouth; for so absolute his Power is, that his Will is the only Law they can depend upon; insomuch that when he publisheth his Orders for gathering of Money, if his Subjects cannot supply him otherways, they must sell their Goods, and whatever they have, to give him what he demands; yea, I have known in *France* poor People sell their Beds, and lie upon Straw, sell their Pots, Kettles, and all their necessary Houshold Goods, to content the unmerciful Collectors of the King's Taxes. By this little hint we may easily see how much happier we are, as being laden with no burthens but what we are able to bear, and enjoying securely our Estates, and whatever we can call our own, under the protection of our Laws. Should we then leave any Stone unturn'd to keep our selves as we are, by opposing to our utmost such a cruel Conqueror, as the French King would undoubtedly prove, if he ever to our great misfortune subdued us?

XX. But let us speak one Word to the third thing I mentioned before, that by this Act we are to have no standing

Army

Army in time of Peace, the advantage whereof we may eaſily conceive, if we look a little aſide towards our Neighbours the French; they ſuffer patiently in time of War the heavieſt Taxes, and would not think themſelves ſo much to be pityed, as now they are, if a Peace concluded with the Enemy bettered their condition; for they are then in a worſe conditon, in a manner, than they were before, becauſe the ſtanding Armies impower their Prince to doe what he pleaſes in time of Peace; 'tis then that he looks about him, to conſider who has got together any conſiderable Treaſures, that he may eaſe them of them, though lawfully gained, and by good ſervices done to the Crown; ſo that it is no wonder if the French Subjects chuſe at any time War, rather than Peace, becauſe in time of Peace, their King's Armies are wholly imployed againſt them, whereas in the time of a ſettled War, they are partly taken up in oppoſing a Foreign Enemy. Let the impartial Reader judge from the Premiſes of the Happineſs of the Engliſh Subjects, compared with the miſerable Condition of the French.

XXI. The late Parliament has done another thing, without which, nothwithſtanding all our other advantages contained in this Act, our Happineſs had not been laſting, as it is now like to be for ever, and it is the ſettling of the Succeſſion of the Crown upon Proteſtants, and none but Proteſtants: The Words of the Act are ſo remarkable, that I think it fit to inſert them here, before I give you my Reflexions upon them.

Whereas it has been found by ſad experience, that it is inconſiſtent with the ſafety of this Proteſtant Kingdom, to be governed by a Popiſh Prince, or by any King, or Queen, Marrying a Papiſt, the ſaid Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do further pray that it may be enacted,

enacted That all, and every Perſon, and Perſons, that is, or ſhall be reconciled to, or hold Communion with the See, or Church of Rome; *or ſhall profeſs the Popiſh Religion, or ſhall Marry a Papiſt, ſhall be excluded, and be for ever uncapable to Inherit, Poſſeſs, or Enjoy the Crown and Government of this Realm, and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereunto belonging, or any part of the ſame, or to have, uſe, or exerciſe any Regal Power, Authority, or Juriſdiction within the ſame; and in all, or every ſuch caſe, or caſes, the People of theſe Realms ſhall be, and are hereby abſolved of their Allegiance, and the ſaid Crown, and Government, ſhall from time to time deſcend to, and be enjoyed by ſuch Perſon, or Perſons, being Proteſtants, as ſhould have inherited, and enjoyed the ſame, in caſe the ſame Perſon, or Perſons, ſo reconciled, holding Communion, or Profeſſing, or Marrying as aforeſaid, were naturally dead.*

XXII. Nothing more certain than what is here aſſerted, that it is inconſiſtent with the ſafety of this Proteſtant Kingdom to be govern'd by a Popiſh Prince, or by any King, or Queen, Marrying a Papiſt: If we look back to the publick Tranſactions in the days of King *Charles* the Firſt, we ſhall ſoon be convinced of this undeniable Truth, ſince we may derive all our Domeſtick and Civil Diſturbances from his Marrying a Popiſh French Princeſs, who at laſt became ſo troubleſome to him, that he was forced to ſend home, to *France* again, all her Attendants, in hopes to bring her to a better temper, by removing from her ſuch Popiſh Emiſſaries, as were thought to put her upon ſome dangerous deſigns, which

made the Nation jealous of her ſecret Intrigues with *France*, yea, and ſometimes of the very King's Religion, as if he had been perverted by the Queen, or her Prieſts, or had ſhown himſelf ſomewhat too much inclined to the Popiſh way of Worſhip; but whether things were juſt as the People fanſied them, or not, it is certain this unlucky Match was the occaſion of our Civil Wars, and of ſo much bloodſhed in theſe three Nations: Such another ſuſpicion as this, was the ſecret ſpring of all our late Domeſtick Troubles, during the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, for though he profeſſed outwardly the Proteſtant Religion, yet the People, upon what grounds I know not well, could not be ſometimes ſatisfied, but that he was either a Papiſt, or popiſhly inclined; and upon this very account the Nation was always apprehenſive of French Penſioners, of Popiſh Plots, of Tyranny, and Arbitrary Power: Now ſuch apprehenſions and fears could not but be the ſeed of Diviſions among us, of Heart-burnings, and either of grounded, or groundleſs Jealouſies, to the endangering the Peace and Safety of the whole Kindgom: So true it is, that it is inconſiſtent with the ſafety of this Kingdom to be governed by a Prince thought to be popiſhly affected, but ſure far more to be governed by a ſincere, zealous, and profeſſed Papiſt, as we all know King *James* gloryed to be; how near we were the brink of our ruine during his Reign, and how unavoidable our entire ruine was, had he reigned longer over us, is ſo evident to all ſeeing Men, that I need not enlarge upon the matter here. I ſhall only add in this place, in order to make out the Truth of what is aſſerted by the late Parliament, *that it is inconſiſtent with the ſafety of this Proteſtant Kingdom to be governed by a Papiſt*, that when our Prince is a real Papiſt, he is obliged by the Principles of his Religion, to doe his utmoſt endeavours to ſubmit his Subjects to the Pope's juriſdiction.

XXIII.

XXIII. First, Becauſe he muſt then of courſe look upon his Subjects as real Hereticks, and Schiſmaticks, whom if he do not root out by all poſſible means, he is liable to be depoſed by the Pope, according to the famous and known deciſion of the third Council of *Lateran*; How then can a Proteſtant Nation put any truſt in ſuch a Prince, whoſe whole buſineſs is, and ought to be, to deſtroy their Religion, and force them to return to the old Romiſh Superſtitions again? And if Subjects cannot truſt their Sovereign, it is but rational to think they will take all imaginable meaſures to prevent their own ruine, and that of their Religion, always dearer to them, if they have any Piety at all, than their very lives; but theſe very meaſures, how juſt ſoever, muſt needs breed ſtirs in a Nation, to the general diſturbance of the Natives, ſince the Politick Body, no more than the Natural, can be a moment in a quiet temper, without a free and friendly intercourſe and communication between the Head and the Members. Secondly, If a Popiſh Prince is obliged in Conſcience, as I elſewhere intimated he is, neither to ſtand to his Promiſe, nor Word given, to protect Hereticks, and Hereſie, how can he ſincerely promiſe to maintain and defend our Church; or rather how can we be ſo ſilly as to believe he will maintain it, ſince it is not in his Power to do it, in caſe he finds himſelf in a poſture to undertake its ruine? But, Thirdly, to be ſomewhat more particular, the ſafety of this Nation was inconſiſtent with the Government of the late King *James*, upon a particular account that I ſhall here mention.

XXIV. Of all the different Perſecutions of the Church of God, none can be compared to the late Perſecution of *France*, both for its Cruelty, and Novelty. The *Roman* Emperors, I confeſs, exerciſed all imaginable Barbarities upon the Bodies of the Primitive Chriſtians, but never

attempted, or pretended any right over their Souls and Conſciences; they baniſhed them, tortured them, invented all ſorts of Death to deſtroy them; but the art of Dragooning Men into Religion, was reſerved to be the contrivance of *Lewis* the Fourteenth, though he was engaged by the moſt ſolemn Edicts of *Nants* and *Nime*, and by his Coronation Oath, to protect and defend the French Proteſtants, with all their Rights and Privileges: Had he declared he would ſuffer no longer the *Hugonots* in his Kingdom, and ordered them upon that account to depart out of it, if they could not change their Religion, we had not complained ſo much of his ſeverity, how Anti-Chriſtian ſoever, but not to ſuffer his Subjects to leave him, nor to live with him, without turning to his Principle, and that not by Argument, but by all the Wounds the Dragooning Swoord could inflict, that of Death only, which in this caſe was the leaſt, excepted, is ſuch an example of Cruelty, as is not to be parallell'd by the greateſt Fury of the Roman Perſecutions; and which without doubt contributed not a little to our late happy Revolution, by determing the Engliſh through an abſolute neceſſity to do what they did for their own ſafety; for had they not reaſon to look to themſelves, conſidering the proceedings of the French King, contrary to all his Oaths and Promiſes, to maintain, defend, and protect the *Hugonots*; they could not but know that the late King *James* was more devoted to the intereſt of the Church of *Rome*, than *Lewis* the Fourteenth himſelf; ſo that they could not in prudence but take the meaſures they have ſo ſucceſsfully taken, for their own preſervation, and that of the Proteſtant Intereſt in general. In one Word, nothing could be more terrible to the Engliſh, who are ſo much in love with Liberty and Property, than to ſee themſelves threatned to be Dragoon'd out of both, by the help

of

of such a powerfull Allie as *Lewis* the Fourteenth: The late Parliament then considering the great progress King *James* had made, in a very short time, towards the bringing in of the French Method of converting People to Popery, and what impressions such a Precedent as that of *France* might make upon a Prince, that needed no spur to the promoting of his own Religion, thought it fit, and absolutely necessary, for the safety of the Protestant Religion, and the Peace of this Kingdom, to exclude for ever from the Imperial Throne of *England* all Popish Princes, whereby not *England* only is secured from such Troubles, as always ensue upon any jealousie between the King and the People from different Principles of Religion, but likewise all the Protestant Princes abroad, are incouraged to stand their ground against Popish Invaders, since they may be sure of seasonable succours upon occasion, from the Protestant Princes of this powerfull Monarchy.

Though what has been hitherto said, does sufficiently justifie all the proceedings of the King, and late Parliament, to the satisfaction of all such as are but impartial Men, and not disaffected to the present Government; yet because some Men seem discontented at two things not done by the late Parliament, and which they think ought not to have been omitted, as being undoubtedly of no small consequence for the publick Concerns, and Peace of the Nation; it may not be amiss in this place, to clear all their scruples upon these two Heads, *viz.* Why the late Parliament neither settled the Militia of the Kingdom, nor passed the Act of Indempnity, though earnestly pressed to it by the King, in order to the quieting of Peoples Minds. As to what relates to the settling the Militia of the Kingdom, it is to be considered, that how necessary soever it may seem to be, it was neither perhaps possible as

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attempted, or pretended any right over their Souls and Conſciences; they baniſhed them, tortured them, invented all ſorts of Death to deſtroy them; but the art of Dragooning Men into Religion, was reſerved to be the contrivance of *Lewis* the Fourteenth, though he was engaged by the moſt ſolemn Edicts of *Nants* and *Nime*, and by his Coronation Oath, to protect and defend the French Proteſtants, with all their Rights and Privileges: Had he declared he would ſuffer no longer the *Hugonots* in his Kingdom, and ordered them upon that account to depart out of it, if they could not change their Religion, we had not complained ſo much of his ſeverity, how Anti-Chriſtian ſoever, but not to ſuffer his Subjects to leave him, nor to live with him, without turning to his Principle, and that not by Argument, but by all the Wounds the Dragooning Swoord could inflict, that of Death only, which in this caſe was the leaſt, excepted, is ſuch an example of Cruelty, as is not to be parallell'd by the greateſt Fury of the Roman Perſecutions; and which without doubt contributed not a little to our late happy Revolution, by determing the Engliſh through an abſolute neceſſity to do what they did for their own ſafety; for had they not reaſon to look to themſelves, conſidering the proceedings of the French King, contrary to all his Oaths and Promiſes, to maintain, defend, and protect the *Hugonots*; they could not but know that the late King *James* was more devoted to the intereſt of the Church of *Rome*, than *Lewis* the Fourteenth himſelf; ſo that they could not in prudence but take the meaſures they have ſo ſucceſsfully taken, for their own preſervation, and that of the Proteſtant Intereſt in general. In one Word, nothing could be more terrible to the Engliſh, who are ſo much in love with Liberty and Property, than to ſee themſelves threatned to be Dragoon'd out of both, by the help

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then

then things stood, nor expedient to settle it, by reason of the uncertain, and unknown disposition of most Men's Minds at first, in all great and sudden Revolutions, but more especially in such an extraordinary and unprecedented one as ours was; for since our greatest strength consists in our Militia, can any Man of Sense think, or say, 'twas either fit, or secure, in the then posture of our Affairs, to deliver up the very Bulwark of the Nation, into the Hands of such high Officers, as the Lieutenants of the Militia are in *England*, till it was better known if those who were fit for such Places, were really Men of such a temper, as the present Government might trust to, and rely upon: For extraordinary Revolutions of State being much of the Nature of great Waters, tossed to and fro by boisterous Winds, do always require some time before they are settled again, in such a calm as may encourage both private Men to follow their former measures, and likewise those who sit at the Helm to undertake, and prosecute the fittest Methods for securing themselves, and the People under their Government, from new Dangers and Storms, always to be feared after a sudden and unexpected Calm, as ours was; we were under such a dismal Cloud of imminent and threatning dangers, a little before the Heavens cleared up from the Dutch coast, that we do wonder at this very Day, to see our selves escaped such an unavoidable Shipwreck, as we thought our selves then exposed to; but it is not enough that we are got on Shore, and a *terra firma* to stand upon, unless by looking nearer into the matter, we consider seriously with our selves, how to maintain our ground, and settle what we have done upon a sure foundation; for as our late happy Revolution was a real one, how odd soever, and unlooked for, so considering how easily Men change their Resolutions, and because it might be immediately, succeeded

ceeded by an unhappy one after the like manner, it was a piece of great prudence in our late Representatives, not to be over hasty in settling the Militia of the Nation, till both they and the King were throughly acquainted with those who were to be trusted with Commissions of such an high concern; but it being impossible they should understand their real temper, while all things were as yet on float, no wonder if they deferred the settling of the Militia, till the Hearts of Men were known to be first settled, which Time only could inform them of. As to the Act of Indempnity, it is clear there was little or no inconveniency to defer it for a while, for since it relates mostly to such as have been guilty of Irregularities, and Illegal Proceedings in the late Reign, where is the harm if the Government keep them somewhat in awe, by deferring their Pardons to more settled times, lest they might prove Ringleaders to new Changes, if they were not check'd by the fear of the punishment their past crimes deserve? For it is a groundless reflexion to say, that the not passing of the Act of Indempnity encourageth them to doe their utmost endeavours towards the bringing in of King *James* again, since it is clear to all Men acquainted with the present posture of his Majesty's Affairs, both at home and abroad, that they must needs despair of ever being secure, if they hope for no security till King *James* is settled upon his Abdicated Throne again: And may not I be allowed to say, that to judge of things to come, by the present temper of the Nation, they are in no danger at all, or at least not so great as some would have them apprehend it to be, because of the great moderation the Government has hitherto shewn, and will undoubtedly shew hereafter, to all such as are willing to comply with the present, that is the Protestant Interest, in

opposition

oppoſition to Popery, and the French King's Deſigns againſt our Properties, and Liberties, if by the help of the *Iriſh* Papiſts, and other Male-Contents, he were enabled to conquer us. But to mention here another preſſing particular relating to this Subject, ſince it is well known, that at the ſitting down of the late Parliament, the King, by the advice, yea, and earneſt requeſt too of our late Repreſentatives, entered into a neceſſary War againſt *France* on the one hand, and againſt the Iriſh Papiſts in *Ireland* on the other hand, I would fain know from any not deſigning Man, what was fitteſt to be done in this caſe, was the time to be trifled away with the ſettling of the Militia, and paſſing an Act of Indempnity, before any ſupplies had been granted his Majeſty, for maintaining this Kingdom, and his Subjects, againſt the formidable French King's Fleets at Sea, and his Iriſh Forces at Land, commanded by the late King *James* in *Ireland*? Sure all Men of Senſe muſt needs confeſs, that this *Principal* was firſt to be minded before any ſuch *Acceſſories*, as undoubtedly theſe were, in that juncture of our Affairs. Now it is methinks evident, that the ordering the Sinews of great Warlike Preparations both by Sea, and by Land then, as now ſo neceſſary, could not but take up a great deal of time, eſpecially when the Money is to be levyed, in due proportion, upon all the chief Subjects of the Nation; the neceſſary debates upon ſuch occaſions, about the Summ it ſelf to be raiſed, upon what, and the manner how it is to be gathered, are things of ſuch a Nature, as cannot be done on a ſudden, whatever Men's endeavours may be to bring them in a ſhort time to a period. The late Tranſactions of the laſt Parliament, beſides the Nature of the thing it ſelf, are evident proofs of what I do here affirm, to all ſuch as underſtand any thing in Affairs

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of this kind, never done in *England*, otherwise than by Meetings, Conferences, Committees, Debates, Votes, and such other like Methods used in Parliament, upon all matters of a General, and National Concern. To conclude, notwithstanding all that I have said, grant it was expedient, though I have sufficiently proved it was not, to settle the Militia of the Kingdom, and pass the Act of Indempnity, before any thing else; these so much talked of omissions, are both inconsiderable in themselves, since we smart not yet for them, and not at all dangerous in their Consequences, which if really hurtful, may easily be prevented by the next Parliament.

FINIS.

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